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ABSTRACT

Although studies have linked stressful life events with illness, good support resources have been found to mediate these effects. To investigate the processes involved in assessing one's social network, identifying areas where change is desired, and modifying specific social network variables, 18 undergraduate students (14 females, 4 males) participated in a semester long study. Each student monitored a problematic personal behavior and implemented a self-control intervention. During the third and last weeks of class, students completed a social support scale and a social network assessment questionnaire. An analysis of the results showed that in the majority of cases, social network variables were modified by the undergraduates. While greater satisfaction was reported on a variety of support functions with the target individuals, the undergraduates' overall social networks were relatively stable during the time of the study. These findings suggest that it is possible to make self-initiated changes in one's social network. (BL)

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Teaching Undergraduates
Social Support Concepts

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Abstract

Considerable research has shown that social networks have important influences on various indices of physical health and psychological adjustment. Social networks are not static, but change over time as individuals actively adapt to and mold their social environments. The present study investigated the processes involved in assessing one's social network, identifying areas where change is desired, and modifying specific social network variables. A class of undergraduates was involved in the present study. In the majority of cases, social network variables were modified by the undergraduates. While greater satisfaction was reported on a variety of support functions with the target individuals, the undergraduates' overall social networks were relatively stable during the time of the study.

Numerous studies conducted during the past 20 years have linked stressful life events with a variety of undifferentiated psychiatric illnesses, thereby suggesting that stressors might not be etiologically specific to any given disease (Dean & Lin, 1977). In addition, several studies have indicated that those with high stress and good support resources evidence significantly less symptomatology than those with high stress but little social support (Heller & Swindle, 1983). As Caplan (1974) has suggested, social support may act as a refuge which a person can return to between sorties into a stressful environment. When individuals do seek help for troublesome life events, they first turn to family and friends for comfort, reassurance and advice; professional service organizations are used only as a last resort (Gourash, 1978).

These findings have influenced mental health professionals, as is reflected in increased interest in the area of social support. New roles are emerging for professionals with interests in social networks. For example, mental investigators have documented program strategies used by service agencies in collaborating with informal helping networks (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman, & Kimboko, 1981). Others have turned their attention toward evaluating the effects of having access to support networks

(Douglas & Jason, 1984; Lieberman & Mullan, 1978). Helping informal community caregivers and neighborhood workers make accurate referrals to treatment programs also has been a profitable activity initiated by mental health professionals (Leutz, 1976; Mathews & Fawcett, 1979). Creating social support systems is another collaborative activity with much potential (Sarason, Carroll, Maton, Cohen, & Lorentz, 1977). In all of these activities, members of networks are approached as collaborators rather than clients. As a consequence, the likelihood of imposing an intervenor's values on community residents is reduced (Gottlieb, 1981).

Perhaps the most important contribution of social scientists lies in developing methodologies for better conceptualizing and articulating the concept of social support. For example, investigators have developed instruments to measure subjective appraisals of support (Heller & Swindle, 1983), activities which are engaged in during supportive interactions (Barrera, 1981; Gottlieb, 1978), and direct observations of interactive supportive behaviors (Liotta & Jason, 1983). Refinements in approaches for assessing social support have been helpful in better appreciating the relationships between social networks, on the one hand, and psychopathology (Cohen & Sokolovsky, 1979) and internal resources (Husaini, Neff, Newbrough, & Moore, 1982; Warheit, Vega, Shimizu, & Meinhardt, 1982) on the other. The need for careful

specification of the role of social support is illustrated in Hirsch's (1980) study: Women coping with major life changes had significantly higher self-esteem if they had multidimensional relationships, but denser networks were associated with less satisfaction.

Some of the most interesting work has involved investigating characteristics of members and transactions occurring within social networks (Vallance & D'Augelli, 1982). Young, Giles, and Plantz (1982), for example, interviewed people in rural areas and reported that 87% of interviewees were sought for personal help by others. Best-liked helping behaviors included trying to understand the situation and feelings, just listening, and advice. These types of supportive interactions are not static, but change over time. Network members actively select and determine the amount and type of support they receive (Heller & Swindle, 1983). Although a number of theorists have suggested that individuals play an active role in structuring their social networks (Mitchell, 1982), more research is needed to understand better the processes and behaviors utilized in maintaining and altering social networks.

Gottlieb and Todd (1979) organized, among first year undergraduates in a psychology class, small group workshops focusing on network-mapping. The undergraduates had their networks made explicit, and they identified aspects of support

found lacking (e.g., need for more intimacy, variety, anonymity, etc). A next logical step might be to allow students to select particular characteristics of their networks with which they are dissatisfied and attempt to alter those features of their social networks. The present exploratory study provided a group of students the opportunity to do this.

Method

Subjects

Undergraduate psychology majors, accepted into an internship program during their junior year, enrolled in an applied psychology class. Of the 18 students in the class, 14 were female and 4 were male. Eleven were white, 4 were black, and 3 hispanic. The applied psychology course covered behavioral strategies aimed at modifying individual behavior and environmental dimensions (Jason, 1984). A textbook by Glenwick and Jason (1980) was used.

Procedure

Each undergraduate was given the task of monitoring a problematic personal behavior during the first week of class. After collecting baseline data, undergraduates were placed in pairs and given an opportunity to discuss their target behaviors. During these 20-minute sessions, therapeutic strategies were exchanged. After implementing a self-control intervention, each student surveyed his or her social network, identified a part of it which he or she desired to change, and began charting this

dimension. Efforts to alter social support variables are described in the results section. The self-control projects provided the undergraduates with basic skills (e.g., specifying, monitoring and graphing behaviors), which were needed to attempt the more difficult social support interventions.

Target problems were in cognitive (decreasing negative self-statements, insecure self-statements, and feelings of impatience), behavioral (increasing assertion, minutes reading newspapers, exercise time, weight; and decreasing biting of lips, speeding in a car, consumption of pop, and weight) and physiological modalities (decreasing anxiety attacks and drowsiness in class). Behavioral techniques employed included: self-monitoring, desensitization, positive self-statements, cognitive restructuring, stimulus control, and behavioral contracts (e.g., a quarter was sent to President Reagan each time one undergraduate sped in his car), and feedback (posting graphs of change).

Test Materials

During the third and last weeks of class, students completed a Social Support Scale (SSS) and a Social Network Assessment Questionnaire (SNAQ). On the SSS, each student picked a person in his or her social network with whom some change in a support dimension was desired.¹ Using a 7-point scale (1 = not at all satisfied, 7 = very satisfied), students rated their satisfaction

in the following support categories: cognitive guidance (provision of information, advice, explanations, suggestions), social reinforcement (praise received from others), tangible assistance-physical aid (intervention to assist in a task already begun), socializing (talk about non-problem topics such as the weather, politics, everyday events) and emotional support (provision of encouragement, understanding, respect, appreciation, concern, intimacy). In addition, for each of these target individuals, the number of hours spent each day with the person was recorded.

Students filled out the SNAQ in order to obtain more comprehensive descriptions of their social networks. In many cases, filling out this survey enabled the students to identify components of their networks which they desired to change. Size of social network was assessed by asking the students to respond to six questions which paralleled the five categories of possible social support delineated by Barrera (1981) and Hirsch (1980): Cognitive guidance (Who would you go to if you needed some information or advice?), Social Reinforcement (Who are the people who would let you know when they liked your ideas or the things that you do?), Tangible Assistance (Who are the people you know who would lend you money or some type of object that you needed?, What people would help you to do something which you needed help doing?), Socializing (Who are the people you get

together with to have fun or to relax?), and Emotional Support (Who would you talk to about things which are very personal or private?). The total number of different names reported constituted the size of the social network, and the respondent then was asked a series of questions about each of the network members named. In a study of college students, Barrera (1981) found that determining the size of social networks in this manner was reliable ($r = .88$; 74% of the people listed during the pretest were listed at the posttest).

The number of interactions the student "usually" had with each network member was coded into seven categories: less than one a month, less than one a week, one a week, two to five times a week, six to ten times a week, 11 to 20 times a week, and more than 20 times a week. An average frequency score was obtained by dividing the total frequency scores of all network members by network size. While Wilcox (1981) noted that quantity of support was less important than quality of support in providing a buffer against stress, frequency of interaction did make a significant contribution to the support by stress interaction.

Satisfaction with network members was assessed with a 5-point Likert-type scale which ranged from very dissatisfied to very satisfied with the relationship. An average network satisfaction score was calculated by dividing total satisfaction scores by network size. This method is like that used by Hirsch

(1979, 1980), except that he used a 7-point Likert-type scale.

Respondents were asked to label each network member as family, friend, co-worker, or neighbor. Froland, Brodsky, Olsen, and Stewart (1979) and Tolsdorf (1976) used only kin versus non-kin to determine type of relationship. Friend, co-worker, and neighbor were added here to extend the descriptive value of the non-kin category. Responses were expressed in terms of the percentage in the respondent's network for each category.

Proximity was determined by the distance the network member lived from the respondent. Responses were coded into six categories: live together, less than one mile apart, less than five miles, less than 25 miles, less than one 100 miles, and more than 100 miles. The total proximity score was divided by network size to determine an average proximity score for the respondent's network. Froland et al. (1979) assessed proximity in their study of the networks of psychiatric patients and individuals without diagnosed psychiatric disorders. They found that networks characterized by only a few members living far away were more common in the psychiatric patient group.

Durability of the relationship between the respondent and each network member, a variable considered important by Froland et al. (1979), was determined by the length of time the two individuals had known each other. Answers were coded into five categories: less than one year, less than two years, less than

five years, less than ten years, and ten years or more. The total of the durability scores was divided by network size to obtain an average durability rating for the network.

Both Froland, et al. (1979) and Tolsdorf (1976) cite symmetry (or mutuality of exchange of services) as an important network characteristic. Both studies found less mutuality of exchange in the networks of psychiatric patients than in their control groups' networks. In the present study, symmetry was assessed according to respondents' answers to the question "Do you believe that you gain more from (network member) than s/he gains from you, or does (network member) gain more from you than you gain from him/her?". A score of 1 was assigned to the response "respondent gains more," 0 to "equal or neutral," and -1 to "(network member) gains more." The total symmetry score was divided by network size to gain an average symmetry score for the network.

Respondents rated network members as "like" or "different from" themselves on three demographic variables: age (within two years), sex, and race. Scores then were coded in terms of the numbers of characteristics in which the respondents and network members were alike (0, no characteristics in common; 1, one characteristic in common; 2, two characteristics in common; 3, all characteristics in common), and an average homogeneity score for each entire network was computed. Walker, MacBride, and Vachon (1977) include demographic homogeneity as a variable of interest

in their discussion of network characteristics, but they do not provide specific information to validate its importance.

Respondents were given a list of activities which included socializing, school, church, neighborhood, family, and work, and were asked to list the numbers of these activities they were likely to engage in with each network member. Multidimensionality was computed by division of the number of relationships which consisted of more than one activity by the total network size. While Hirsch (1980) used a subjective 3-point interviewer rating of friendship multidimensionality, in this study it was believed that listing specific types of possible interaction would increase the accuracy of this scale.

Respondents were asked if each network member was "friends" with each other network member, in an effort to determine the density of network membership. This method is similar to that employed by Hirsch (1979). Density was calculated according to the method reported by Hirsch (1979), where X equals the number of friendships and N equals the number of people in the social network. Density then equals $X/(N(N-1)/2)$.

Forty-one percent of the undergraduates selected family members to work with; the others picked either friends or people at work. Support functions selected for modification included: socializing, emotional support, tangible assistance, cognitive guidance, and social reinforcement.

Course Evaluation

An anonymous course evaluation questionnaire was distributed at the end of the class. Using 5-point scales (1 = not at all, 5 = definitely), students rated the following two questions: "This course has increased my knowledge and competence in this area," and "I would recommend taking this course to other students."

Results

Self-Control

Sixteen of the 18 undergraduates (89%) each successfully modified a personal problem behavior.

Two undergraduates who reported positive changes in their self-control projects said they applied their newly-learned behavior-changed skills to other bothersome problem behaviors. The effect on most undergraduates is aptly conveyed in this quote from one student: "It is very exciting to bring about change in something that you have not earlier thought could be changed." Of the two who did not succeed, one brought about initial weight loss, but then gained weight at the end of the quarter. The other said "I have not yet met my goal objectives (175 lbs.), but I have been successful in learning about the complications of changing my own behavior." Both felt positive about their attempts to bring about change and indicated they would continue to work on their goal of weight reduction after the end of the course.

Support Variables

Twelve of the 17 undergraduates (71%) reported successfully modifying social support variables. Below, the efforts of the undergraduates will be described.

Four undergraduates selected their fathers as network members with whom they would work. Two were successful in initiating change; two were not. The first undergraduate increased the amount of time spent socializing with her father from an average of 20 minutes per day to 27 minutes. Prior to the intervention, in the presence of her parents the undergraduate tended to direct most of her conversation to her mother. With onset of the intervention, she tried to involve her father more in the conversation. The student reported that not only had the time spent socializing increased but "the quality of our conversations increased. The project served as a start but I believe that over time I will increase the time I spend socializing with my father."

The second undergraduate first tried to increase emotional support from her father, but when this didn't change, she switched her goal to minutes of socialization. While no baseline was taken for this, by project-end she was spending about 15 minutes a day with her father. In describing this project she wrote the following:

- . Eventually the socializing did help our relationship and unexpectedly, did also improve our emotional support for each

other slightly. There are risks. In the 10th day of socializing, I left a note at my father's office asking him out to lunch. Unfortunately, he had already gone out to lunch that day. However, a few days later he asked me out. I was flattered, but more importantly, I felt a sense of accomplishment. Increasing socializing takes a conscious effort. He noticed my efforts and repaid me with his own efforts to socialize with me.

Two students indicated they were not successful in making meaningful changes in their relationships with their fathers. One, who increased the number of minutes socializing from .9 to 1.1, explained her minimal progress by saying, "I didn't do much because I felt there was too much at risk concerning my own fears of rejection." Another was unsuccessful in increasing episodes of emotional support which she received from her father. While she was discouraged in her efforts to prompt more emotional support, she wrote in her paper:

I learned what it's like to see a lack of interest and cooperation expressed about something I feel is quite important. These are incidents which I think as a health professional I will encounter frequently. Confronting them now is a source of good preparation for the future.

Three undergraduates selected their mothers to work with, and two reported that their efforts were successful. One undergraduate tried to increase the number of social reinforcements her mother gave to her. Attempts to direct more conversation to her resulted only in increases from 1.3 to 1.7 daily. This intervention was not perceived as benefiting her relationship with her mother. Another undergraduate made active efforts to increase the amount of time she spent talking with her mother on the phone. As a function of the intervention, daily time on the phone increased from 15 to 23 minutes.

The third undergraduate who worked with her mother effectively increased minutes spent socializing from 9.5 to 26. In addition, episodes of emotional support given to her mother increased from .4 to 3.4, and emotional support she received from her mother increased from .2 to 3.5 (See Figure 1). The

Insert Figure 1 about here

intervention she used and her feelings about it are described below:

I felt that if I increased the amount of encouragement and concern given to her, the level of encouragement and concern that she gave me would naturally rise. This reciprocal effect was shown in the results. Actually, I am very glad

that this project was presented, since it truly has enhanced my relationship with my mother. It provided me with the opportunity to improve a relationship that has needed improvement for some time, but that I was not previously motivated to tackle.

Both undergraduates who focused on changing support functions with their sisters were successful. One undergraduate tried to increase emotional support (rated on a 7-point scale) and time spent socializing. While emotional support increased only marginally (from 1.2 to 1.9), time spent socializing increased from 6.2 to 13.4 minutes daily. In evaluating this project, the undergraduate wrote: "I may not have improved emotional support, but accomplishing more socialization may in time improve the other behavior." The other student prompted socialization, and increased it from 2.8 to 7.7 minutes daily (See Figure 2). In describing this project, he said "my sister became more receptive to me in areas that were low. For example, if I was coming through the door with my hands full, she offered to help. In addition, time spent together also increased, indicating that we enjoyed each other's company more."

Insert Figure 2 about here

Another undergraduate directly asked a distant family member for more cognitive guidance, emotional support, and social reinforcement. This simple request resulted in positive changes, using a 7-point scale, on all dimensions (cognitive guidance, 3-5, emotional support, 1.6-3.8; social reinforcement, 1-3.9). The undergraduate indicated she would continue monitoring her network member even after the class ended. Another undergraduate made active efforts to increase minutes spent socializing, and succeeded in increasing it from 4.8 to 7.7 minutes. At the end of the project, the student felt that his grandfather:

had actually been providing me with more information, advice, explanations, and suggestions in addition to the talk about non-problem topics and such...I have grown to understand and respect him more for the person that he is and to put aside those ill feelings I had for him because of my stupid illogical reactions toward him just because he was an 'old' person.

Two out of the three undergraduates who worked with friends reported success in their interventions. One student received little emotional support before and after her intervention (.07 average episodes daily during both the baseline and intervention). The student's direct requests for more emotional support were ignored by her friend. Another student attempted to increase

cognitive guidance, which was rated on a 7-point scale, with higher numbers indicating more satisfaction. Attempts to prompt cognitive guidance and be more direct only raised the baseline level from 3.1 to 4.3. When the student explained the reasons for which she wanted to involve her friend in this change effort, he readily cooperated with the intention of helping their relationship grow stronger. During the last phase, rated cognitive guidance rose to 6.0. In describing this project, the undergraduate wrote that in the past "I never encouraged him to give me any of his own advice or suggestions." A third undergraduate was just going through the process of separating from her husband. She needed tangible assistance from a friend, and after collecting baseline data, initiated direct requests for it (tangible assistance rose from .07 to 2.1; see figure 3). The student asked her friend for some money and a place to stay for

Insert Figure 3 about here

herself and her son. The reaction, in her own words, follows:

She offered me not a loan but a gift. She wanted to give me that amount every month until I got on my feet more. She mobilized an army of our common friends for me. For example, she got a friend's mother to rent me her studio apartment in her building. I was really nervous about asking her help. I

am usually a private person. I like to present a positive image, and asking for help necessitates admitting I need it. I had to risk rejection, being hurt at a time that is already so difficult.

Another undergraduate's boyfriend was the person selected for the project. She desired increases in cognitive guidance, based on a 7-point rating scale (higher numbers indicating more satisfaction). By directly telling him she needed more cognitive guidance, levels increased from 3.1 to 6.5. In summarizing the intervention, she wrote: "I would have never guessed that asking for support would be the answer. Without putting it in the context of a class assignment, I probably would not have been able to approach the subject so directly."

Two work-related network members were a co-worker and a boss. One student tried to encourage her co-worker to offer more tangible assistance at work in doing a variety of filing chores. Direct requests were not effective in altering her co-worker's behavior (no episodes of tangible assistance occurred before or after the intervention). Another undergraduate did succeed in increasing episodes of emotional support from his supervisor (episodes increased from .3 to 1.5). By spending more time with his employer, and being positive, he wrote "I was now feeling that I was receiving some encouragement, understanding, respect, and

appreciation I deserved."

Social Network Assessment Questionnaire

In merely filling out the SNAQ, some undergraduates noticed interesting patterns which might have encouraged them to think about change in their social networks. These comments by two students illustrate this possibility:

Filling out the social network questionnaire made me realize that most of the people who are important to me are living far from me and that I need to form a new support system of people in the neighborhood to be truly happy.

(In filling out the form), I came to realize that I had far less people in my network than I wanted. So during the course of this project, I worked on increasing this number.

Table 1 presents pre and post data on the social variable and pre-post correlations. As is evident, with the exception of symmetry, significant correlations were evident for the various

Insert Table 1 about here

measures. For overall network variables, no significant changes took place over time. However, for the target network members, significant improvements over time were found for Social

Reinforcement ($t(16) = -3.45, p < .01$), Socializing ($t(16) = -2.38, p < .05$), and Emotional Support ($t(16) = -2.56, p < .05$).

Course Evaluation

The average score for the question "This course has increased my knowledge and competence in this area" was 4.7 (on a 5-point scale). The average score for the second question: "I would recommend this course to other students" was 4.8.

Discussion

The present study investigated the efforts of a group of students to modify both problematic behaviors and social network variables. The majority of individuals in the group were able to alter troublesome personal behaviors and particular components of their social networks. Changing one dimension of a social tie with a network member seemed to have facilitating effects on other network areas for the target individual; however, few consistent pre-post changes emerged on the student's overall social network. These findings are of importance because they suggest that social networks are not static; rather, they are dynamic entities which, in many cases can be changed and altered to meet more of people's needs.

The students used a variety of behavioral strategies to bring about changes in their social networks. After assessing their overall networks and selecting particular network members with whom changes were desired, the students collected baseline data.

The interventions, for the most part, focused on functional areas--socializing, emotional support, etc. Goal-setting was a vital component of most implemented change efforts. Frequently, the students indicated interest in increasing support functions specified amounts (e.g., increase socialization from an average of 10 to 20 minutes). As progress toward their goals was attained, the students received social reinforcement from class members and gave themselves positive self-statements for initiating improvements in important social relationships. In addition to these active efforts to alter social network variables, direct communication was employed by several students. When the students directly requested certain changes in their relationships, feedback among the parties sometimes was enhanced, and this facilitated meaningful changes for several of the undergraduates.

Of the 17 social network projects described in this study, for only five were the targets of the interventions informed that they were participants in a class project. Most students decided not to inform their target network members because they felt that if they did so, the target individuals might feel offended. In other words, in order not to make their network members feel like "subjects," they chose to attempt to induce change without telling them about the data collection or the nature of the study. Five undergraduates informed their network members of the projects. Two were enthusiastic and willing to cooperate (a boyfriend and a

sister), one initially was hesitant but soon after willingly agreed to work on improving the social network dimensions, and two reacted negatively (one friend said she didn't want to be part of the experiment, a mother did not like the idea of her daughter trying to change their relationship). The principal investigator initially had hoped that after the collection of baseline data, all target network members would be informed of the change efforts. Most of the students, however, felt it was important not to mention the project since they could improve the relationships to a greater extent if the target individuals did not feel the motivation for change was merely a class assignment. An ethical problem does arise from this experiment: Can individuals be involved in experiments in which informed consent is not obtained? If the network members were informed at the start, methodological problems would arise because baseline data could not be gathered. As a possible compromise, in future studies students should select only network members whom they are willing to tell the nature of the class project, but only after baseline data are collected. If the target individual does not consent, then an intervention should not be implemented with that person.

The present study did not employ a control group. To better control for threats to external validity, random assignment of participants to experimental and control conditions would be desirable in further research in this area. In addition, while

many different behaviors were recorded in the social network interventions, the study would have been enhanced if reliability estimates and independent corroboration of change were obtained. Finally, it would have been interesting to gather data on personality factors. This would have allowed the authors to explore whether individuals with certain personality predispositions are more likely to initiate particular types of changes in their social networks.

The findings of the present study suggest that it is possible to make self-initiated changes in one's social network. If individuals can participate actively in shaping their social environments, they have the potential for creating more supportive networks which can prevent some of the adverse effects of life stress. There is need for more transactional research which illustrates how individuals, on a day-by-day basis, exchange support and modify important interpersonal dimensions. In addition, examining the effects of changes in one's social network, either through being provided social support (Jason & Smith, 1980), providing support to others, or through self-initiated changes (as in the present study), remain important areas worthy of further research.

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Footnote

¹One undergraduate began working with one target individual, but in the middle of the project, she began working with another individual. Pre and post data were filled out on different people, so her support data were excluded from this section.

Table 1
Frequency Data and Correlations

<u>Overall Network</u>	<u>Time</u>				<u>Pre-Post Correlations</u>
	<u>Pre</u> <u>X</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Post</u> <u>X</u>	<u>SD</u>	
Size	12.50	4.41	12.90	3.74	.89**
Frequency	4.33	.63	4.37	.62	.92**
Satisfaction	3.95	.40	3.93	.29	.76**
Type of relationship					
family	.36	.21	.36	.19	.87**
friend	.49	.18	.48	.19	.65**
co-worker	.13	.11	.11	.15	.56**
neighbor	.03	.08	.04	.10	.67**
Proximity	3.21	.53	3.21	.45	.94**
Durability	3.67	.42	3.79	.50	.53*
Symmetry	-.12	.19	-.02	.17	.11
Similarity	1.91	.50	1.83	.63	.75**
Multidimensionality	.69	.20	.62	.24	.87**
Density	.56	.18	.51	.17	.63**
<u>Target Network Member</u>					
# of hours	2.06	1.94	2.70	2.80	.89**
Cognitive guidance	3.53	1.59	4.32	1.63	.51**
Social Reinforcement	3.00	1.62	3.68	1.78	.89**
Tangible assistance	3.88	2.03	4.52	2.03	.76**
Socializing	3.03	1.72	3.85	1.77	.67**
Emotional Support	3.00	2.09	3.88	2.27	.79**

*p < .05

**p < .01

• Figure Captions

Figure 1. Episodes of emotional support over time.

Figure 2. Number of minutes socializing over time.

Figure 3. Episodes of tangible assistance over time.





